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The Tripoli Situation.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

The Permanent International Peace Bureau has, from its central office at Berne, addressed to all the powers signatory to the Hague Conventions the following memorandum concerning the Tripoli situation, signed by H. La Fontaine, president, and A. Gobat, secretary.

The events now disturbing Europe have profoundly stirred public opinion and had the most unhappy effect on the economic condition of the nations. We are the representatives and spokesmen of those who desire to see a stable and lasting peace between all peoples; and we call your serious attention to the deception and the legitimate discontent of the great mass of the people, who consider, with reason, that the governments have not fulfilled their whole duty under these grave condi-

The governments, although they took part in the two peace conferences at the Hague in 1899 and 1907, do not seem to take into account the fact that a new era has come in international relations. The governments have solemnly recognized that the era of international justice and solidarity has been inaugurated. In the preamble to the convention relating to the pacific settlement of international conflicts, they in effect declared that they were henceforth resolved to encourage by all means the friendly regulation of international conflicts, and that they desired to extend the reign of law and to strengthen the sentiment of international justice. In addition to this they recognized the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations.

The conference of Algeciras was, for this last reason,

hailed, by all who believe in the possibility of a stable and lasting peace, as a first and notable step along the road marked out in 1899. The declarations made by Germany and France of their purpose to submit to the approval of the powers represented with them at Algeciras whatever convention they may make, constitute a new and solemn recognition of the principle of the solidarity of all peoples.

It is, then, with sorrow and amazement that we have seen the governments one after another refuse to interest themselves in the conflict which has just arisen between Italy and Turkey. Without wishing to determine the importance of the grievances which were invoked to justify the unlooked for and sudden ultimatum which preceded hostilities, it seems to us that the Italian government failed seriously in its contracts by acting as it has done. We consider that the governments ought to call to its attention the fact that it failed in the engagements to which it subscribed at the time of the two peace conferences.

On the one hand, in effect, some grievances on which the Italian government lays stress are manifestly in the domain of arbitration, and it was at least necessary, before any act of war, that the Turkish government should have refused to submit to the judgment of an arbitral tribunal. On the other hand, if the Italian government considered that the Turkish government did not assure the public safety in Tripoli, and that it employed im-

proper methods toward foreigners who had established themselves in the country, the recourse to an international conference was plainly pointed out by what had occurred at Algeciras under circumstances equally grave and concerning a country of equally great economic importance. The governments had the right to require that Italy and Turkey should submit themselves to a procedure accepted by Germany and France.

In our epoch a people dishonors itself by withdrawing from its contracts, and this has been the almost unanimous verdict of public opinion. Italy could, in a legal and peaceful manner, have obtained satisfaction for its wrongs. By having recourse to force, under conditions without risk and without glory, it has taken the administration of justice into its own hands; it has acted as judge and policeman in its own cause; it has not facilitated by every means in its power the friendly settlement of the international conflict in which it was engaged; it has limited the scope of law and deeply wounded the sentiment of international justice; it has taken no account of the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations. It has thus violated the engagements into which it entered when it affixed its signature to the final Acts of the peace conferences.

It is not primarily the province of public opinion, but of the governments, to give expression to the sense of deception and the discontent of the peoples, by a collective protest giving this dissatisfaction and sense of deception an official sanction.

We recognize that one government at least has offered its mediation and has contributed to the restriction of the field of hostilities; but it is collective mediation that should be invoked; the appeal of the governments should be unanimous and of such a character that the arms would fall from the hands of the government which disturbs international peace, and that it would be compelled to bend before the law.

We address our most earnest prayer to your government, as well as to all the governments of the powers signatory to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, that a collective effort may be made with the Italian government, in witness of the desire of the peoples to assure religiously hereafter respect for treaties and for the principles of equity and law on which rest the security of states and the well being of peoples.

New Books.

WORLD ORGANIZATION AS AFFECTED BY THE NATURE OF THE MODERN STATE. By David Jayne Hill. New York: The Columbia University Press. 12mo, cloth. Price, \$1.50 net.

This work, the text of which consists of eight lectures delivered before the Columbia University, on the Carpenter Foundation, in March, 1911, is not a discussion of the origin and nature of the State in any comprehensive theoretic way. It treats of the modern State in certain of its aspects, as it exists, with the purpose of showing what light the State, as now organized, throws on the problem of a wider juristic organization among the nations of the world. It is a timely and extremely instructive and valuable study, at the very time when the nations are feeling their way and have already